

VOLUNTARY SUBSCRIPTION.		
LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS, CONTINUED FROM THE MERCURY OF THE 24th.		
	Including the New	Over and above all Taxes.
Total of former Subscriptions, L. 19,782 15	28,739 7 9d.	
Mr Alexander Lang, Trustee's Office	5 0	
Archibald Burnett, Esq. Frederick Street	50 0	
Mr W. Fettes, merchant, R. E. V.	100 0	
B. Bartlett, Esq. florist, Edinburgh	12 12	
Mr Scotland of Laurichon	52 10	
Thomas Scotland, Esq. W. S. R. E. V.	10 10	
Robert Craigie, Esq. Advocate	52 10	
Rev. Dr. Glog	10 10	
William Handyside, Esq. W. S. R. E. V.	21 0	
Mr Allan Begg, Accountant of Excise	20 10	
Mr James Tytler, an apprentice to a writer to the signet	1 1	
Mr John Glog, merchant	31 10	
Mr Robert Ross, music feller	1 1	
Mr George Mulchet, musician	1 1	
Mr Adam Wilson, writer, R. E. V.	5 5	
Rear-Admiral Sir Geo. Home, Bart.	50 0	
Lady Home	5 5	
John Home, Esq. of Kilduff	100	
Mr Will Scott, solicitor at law, and procurator-fiscal for the county of Edin.	52 10	
John James Edmondstone, Esq. of Newton, advocate	21 10	
Mr Luke Fraser, one of the Masters of the High School	3 3	
Mrs Fraser	3 3	
Mr Will Fraser	2 2	
Mrs Fraser	2 2	
Mrs Margaret Fraser	2 2	
Mrs Margaret Elizabeth Fraser	2 2	
Mrs M. Jane Fraser	2 2	
Mrs Jeffrey Fraser	2 2	
Mrs Helen Fraser	2 2	
Frederick Fotheringham, Esq. W. S.	31 10	
Mrs May, Prince's Street	10 0	
Mr John Boyd, merchant, Leith	21 0	
The Royal St. Andrew Volunteers, per Lieut.-Col. Duncaen, their Commander	210 0	
Capt. Andrew Christie, Royal Navy	21 0	
Mr Peter Sangster, bookbinder, Edin.	2 2	
Mrs Abercromby, Windmill Street	20 0	
The Lancash. Light Dragoons, three days pay	96 4	
Mr Will. Jamieson, architect	21 0	
Mrs Anne Carr-Nibbet, George's Square	50 0	
Mr James Mitchell, merchant, Leith	15 0	
Mr Robert Suttie, writer, R. E. V.	5 5	
To be continued.		
VOLUNTARY SUBSCRIPTION AT PERTH.		
On Monday, a Committee appointed by a General Meeting of the Inhabitants of Perth and its vicinity, opened a SUBSCRIPTION for Voluntary Contributions in Defence of the Country. The patriotic alacrity already shown by the Public Bodies connected with this place appears to give an impulse to individual exertions; for the subscription amounted, on the first day, to nearly L. 1000.—And as the only question with every person throughout the kingdom seems at present to be, not whether but where he shall contribute, intimation is thus publicly made, by order of the Committee, for the benefit of all who may be disposed to avail themselves of the opportunity, that Subscription Papers lie at the Town-house, where attendance will be given every lawful morning from ten to two, and where even the smallest contributions will be received with respect.		
Perth, Feb. 28, 1798. ALEXANDER FECHNEY, Prefes.		
BOROUGH OF BERWICK-UPON-TWEED.		
At an adjournment of a Head Guild there holden, the 19th day of February in the year of our Lord 1798, before the Right Worshipful JAMES BELL, Esq. Mayor—Mr RICHARD REAVELY, Alderman, and the rest of the Guild Brethren:		
This Guild, having taken into consideration the expediency of subscribing a sum of money for the service of the country, in the present emergency,		
Resolved, That this Corporation do Subscribe at the Bank of England, the sum of ONE THOUSAND POUNDS, for the purpose above mentioned.		
That Mr Mayor be desired to give directions to Mr John Bell of Grey's Inn, the Corporation's Solicitor at London, to subscribe the said sum immediately.		
EDWARD WILLOBY, Town Clerk.		
TICKETS & SHARES FOR THE BRITISH STATE LOTTERY		
Warranted undrawn to the last accounts, Continue for SALE at the Old Licensed Office of THOMSONS AND CO.—No. 8. South Bridge Street, Edinburgh.		
AREA FOR SALE.		
To be SOLD, by public roup, within John's Coffeehouse, Edinburgh, upon Wednesday the 7th day of March next, between the hours of two and three afternoon, THAT Large AREA in St James's Square, Edinburgh situated on the east side, and consisting of upwards of 100 feet in front. The foundation is already dug out, and there are cellars erected along the front.		
For further particulars application may be made to George Tod writer, Edinburgh, who has powers to conclude a private bargain for the whole or any part, before the day of sale.		
AREAS FOR BUILDING.		
There will be exposed to public roup, within the High Judiciary Court-room, on Thursday the 15th of March, SEVERAL AREAS lying on the east and north side of the New Road from the Lawn Market to Prince's Street, by the Mound of Earth.		
Plans and conditions of roup to be seen in the City Chamberlain's Office.		
COUNTRY HOUSE TO LET.		
To be Let Furnished, and entered to immediately, THE DWELLING-HOUSE OF KIRKTOWN, together with the Offices, Gardens, and Park.		
The house consists of dining-room, drawing-room and six bedrooms, besides servants apartments, and other conveniences, and the set of offices is complete.		
The premises are situated 16 miles west of Edinburgh, one mile from the village of Bathgate, and the new road from Glasgow to Edinburgh runs close by the house.		
They may be seen at any time by applying at the house; and for other particulars application may be made to Messrs Francis and John Anderson, W. S. or Thomas Johnston, writer in Bathgate.		
FARMS IN FIFE.		
To be LET for nineteen years, and entered to at Martinmas 1798, the following Farms on the estate of Ballinbrich, lying in the parishes of Fife and Denbog.		
I. THE Farm of HIGMANS, at present possessed by Robert Walker, excepting therefrom the land lying on the north side of the new road leading from Ballinbrich to Newburgh. Exclusive of that land, the farm will consist of about 300 acres or thereby.		
II. The Farm of WESTER FLISK. It is at present possessed by James Syme, and consists of about 150 acres or thereby.		
III. The Farm of WESTER FLISK-MILLAN. It is at present possessed by Peter Lato, and consists of 125 acres or thereby.		
These farms lie on the south banks of the Tay, near the port of Newburgh. They will be shown by Peter Brown, at Easter Flisk-Millan, the baron officer. Offers are requested to mention, whether the present houses on the Farms will answer, or what will be required for new houses or repairs. The present tenants are bound to leave the houses in good and sufficient condition and repair at their removal.		
Offers, in writing, for the above farms, to be given in to Charles Innes, and William Handyside, writers to the signet, or to George Aitken, the factor, at Cupar Fife. No offers will be received after the 15th of March.		
FARM IN FIFE.		
To LET, for Nineteen Years from Martinmas next 1798, HILLARY, in the parish of Kingharns, containing about 160 acres of arable land, with the Mill thereof, and thirlage thereto belonging, all as presently possessed by David Cairns; lying within two miles of Crail, and six of St Andrews, and in the neighbourhood of coal and lime.		
Proposals in writing between the first of April next, may be given in to Mr Cheap of Strathgrym, No. 45, George Street, Edinburgh, or to Mr Alexander Fraser, Postmaster at St Andrews. Such as are not accepted of shall be cancelled.		

VOLUNTARY SUBSCRIPTION.		
LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS, CONTINUED FROM THE MERCURY OF THE 24th.		
	Including the New	Over and above all Taxes.
Total of former Subscriptions, L. 19,782 15	28,739 7 9d.	
Mr Alexander Lang, Trustee's Office	5 0	
Archibald Burnett, Esq. Frederick Street	50 0	
Mr W. Fettes, merchant, R. E. V.	100 0	
B. Bartlett, Esq. florist, Edinburgh	12 12	
Mr Scotland of Laurichon	52 10	
Thomas Scotland, Esq. W. S. R. E. V.	10 10	
Robert Craigie, Esq. Advocate	52 10	
Rev. Dr. Glog	10 10	
William Handyside, Esq. W. S. R. E. V.	21 0	
Mr Allan Begg, Accountant of Excise	20 10	
Mr James Tytler, an apprentice to a writer to the signet	1 1	
Mr John Glog, merchant	31 10	
Mr Robert Ross, music feller	1 1	
Mr George Mulchet, musician	1 1	
Mr Adam Wilson, writer, R. E. V.	5 5	
Rear-Admiral Sir Geo. Home, Bart.	50 0	
Lady Home	5 5	
John Home, Esq. of Kilduff	100	
Mr Will Scott, solicitor at law, and procurator-fiscal for the county of Edin.	52 10	
John James Edmondstone, Esq. of Newton, advocate	21 10	
Mr Luke Fraser, one of the Masters of the High School	3 3	
Mrs Fraser	3 3	
Mr Will Fraser	2 2	
Mrs Fraser	2 2	
Mrs Margaret Fraser	2 2	
Mrs Margaret Elizabeth Fraser	2 2	
Mrs M. Jane Fraser	2 2	
Mrs Jeffrey Fraser	2 2	
Mrs Helen Fraser	2 2	
Frederick Fotheringham, Esq. W. S.	31 10	
Mrs May, Prince's Street	10 0	
Mr John Boyd, merchant, Leith	21 0	
The Royal St. Andrew Volunteers, per Lieut.-Col. Duncaen, their Commander	210 0	
Capt. Andrew Christie, Royal Navy	21 0	
Mr Peter Sangster, bookbinder, Edin.	2 2	
Mrs Abercromby, Windmill Street	20 0	
The Lancash. Light Dragoons, three days pay	96 4	
Mr Will. Jamieson, architect	21 0	
Mrs Anne Carr-Nibbet, George's Square	50 0	
Mr James Mitchell, merchant, Leith	15 0	
Mr Robert Suttie, writer, R. E. V.	5 5	
To be continued.		
VOLUNTARY SUBSCRIPTION AT PERTH.		
On Monday, a Committee appointed by a General Meeting of the Inhabitants of Perth and its vicinity, opened a SUBSCRIPTION for Voluntary Contributions in Defence of the Country. The patriotic alacrity already shown by the Public Bodies connected with this place appears to give an impulse to individual exertions; for the subscription amounted, on the first day, to nearly L. 1000.—And as the only question with every person throughout the kingdom seems at present to be, not whether but where he shall contribute, intimation is thus publicly made, by order of the Committee, for the benefit of all who may be disposed to avail themselves of the opportunity, that Subscription Papers lie at the Town-house, where attendance will be given every lawful morning from ten to two, and where even the smallest contributions will be received with respect.		
Perth, Feb. 28, 1798. ALEXANDER FECHNEY, Prefes.		
BOROUGH OF BERWICK-UPON-TWEED.		
At an adjournment of a Head Guild there holden, the 19th day of February in the year of our Lord 1798, before the Right Worshipful JAMES BELL, Esq. Mayor—Mr RICHARD REAVELY, Alderman, and the rest of the Guild Brethren:		
This Guild, having taken into consideration the expediency of subscribing a sum of money for the service of the country, in the present emergency,		
Resolved, That this Corporation do Subscribe at the Bank of England, the sum of ONE THOUSAND POUNDS, for the purpose above mentioned.		
That Mr Mayor be desired to give directions to Mr John Bell of Grey's Inn, the Corporation's Solicitor at London, to subscribe the said sum immediately.		
EDWARD WILLOBY, Town Clerk.		
TICKETS & SHARES FOR THE BRITISH STATE LOTTERY		
Warranted undrawn to the last accounts, Continue for SALE at the Old Licensed Office of THOMSONS AND CO.—No. 8. South Bridge Street, Edinburgh.		
AREA FOR SALE.		
To be SOLD, by public roup, within John's Coffeehouse, Edinburgh, upon Wednesday the 7th day of March next, between the hours of two and three afternoon, THAT Large AREA in St James's Square, Edinburgh situated on the east side, and consisting of upwards of 100 feet in front. The foundation is already dug out, and there are cellars erected along the front.		
For further particulars application may be made to George Tod writer, Edinburgh, who has powers to conclude a private bargain for the whole or any part, before the day of sale.		
AREAS FOR BUILDING.		
There will be exposed to public roup, within the High Judiciary Court-room, on Thursday the 15th of March, SEVERAL AREAS lying on the east and north side of the New Road from the Lawn Market to Prince's Street, by the Mound of Earth.		
Plans and conditions of roup to be seen in the City Chamberlain's Office.		
COUNTRY HOUSE TO LET.		
To be Let Furnished, and entered to immediately, THE DWELLING-HOUSE OF KIRKTOWN, together with the Offices, Gardens, and Park.		
The house consists of dining-room, drawing-room and six bedrooms, besides servants apartments, and other conveniences, and the set of offices is complete.		
The premises are situated 16 miles west of Edinburgh, one mile from the village of Bathgate, and the new road from Glasgow to Edinburgh runs close by the house.		
They may be seen at any time by applying at the house; and for other particulars application may be made to Messrs Francis and John Anderson, W. S. or Thomas Johnston, writer in Bathgate.		
FARMS IN FIFE.		
To be LET for nineteen years, and entered to at Martinmas 1798, the following Farms on the estate of Ballinbrich, lying in the parishes of Fife and Denbog.		
I. THE Farm of HIGMANS, at present possessed by Robert Walker, excepting therefrom the land lying on the north side of the new road leading from Ballinbrich to Newburgh. Exclusive of that land, the farm will consist of about 300 acres or thereby.		
II. The Farm of WESTER FLISK. It is at present possessed by James Syme, and consists of about 150 acres or thereby.		
III. The Farm of WESTER FLISK-MILLAN. It is at present possessed by Peter Lato, and consists of 125 acres or thereby.		
These farms lie on the south banks of the Tay, near the port of Newburgh. They will be shown by Peter Brown, at Easter Flisk-Millan, the baron officer. Offers are requested to mention, whether the present houses on the Farms will answer, or what will be required for new houses or repairs. The present tenants are bound to leave the houses in good and sufficient condition and repair at their removal.		
Offers, in writing, for the above farms, to be given in to Charles Innes, and William Handyside, writers to the signet, or to George Aitken, the factor, at Cupar Fife. No offers will be received after the 15th of March.		
FARM IN FIFE.		
To LET, for Nineteen Years from Martinmas next 1798, HILLARY, in the parish of Kingharns, containing about 160 acres of arable land, with the Mill thereof, and thirlage thereto belonging, all as presently possessed by David Cairns; lying within two miles of Crail, and six of St Andrews, and in the neighbourhood of coal and lime.		
Proposals in writing between the first of April next, may be given in to Mr Cheap of Strathgrym, No. 45, George Street, Edinburgh, or to Mr Alexander Fraser, Postmaster at St Andrews. Such as are not accepted of shall be cancelled.		

IRISH PARLIAMENT.

Not having received our Dublin papers till a late hour on Monday, we were prevented from giving a detail of the debate on Earl Moira's motion.—As the public may however, look upon it as a subject of much interest, we now give it at great length.

HOUSE OF LORDS, Feb. 19.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR did not take the woolack till four when the House was called over agreeably to the order of the day.

At five o'clock Earl Moira rose.—Contemplating the melancholy and distracted state of this country, I should feel myself lost to every sentiment of regard to my country, if I did not avail myself of my right to institute an enquiry into the causes of this dreadful calamity. I am scrupulously aware, my Lords, of the extreme sensibility of the public mind—I am aware of the danger of increasing any anxiety and ill-will which may exist in the country; and should be far, very far from appearing before your Lordships, if I thought that any speech which I might make, or motion which I might offer, would be capable of irritating the feelings, or exciting the passions of the people of Ireland. There is one subject which I feel it my duty to mention before I proceed to the more immediate topic of my address to your Lordships. I cannot pass unnoticed the long course of feuds which the prints in the pay of Government have held against every man who is adverse to their views; I lament that any Government should have fallen so low, should be so fond, so illiberal, as to make the vehicles of public information the instruments of detraction from personal exertion, and the medium of most foul and disgusting scurrility. As for my part, as far as it personally affects myself, I hold such means of contempt and detestation, and only regret that those who should let the example of liberality and honourable demeanour, should humble themselves to such mean, paltry, and contemptible expedients; such calumnies I disregard, and can only compare them to those mephitic vapours, which, though they are destructive to animals who grovel, are by no means dangerous or injurious to a man who chafes to walk upright.

It must strike your Lordships, that I allude to those charges brought against me, when I described in the Parliament of the latter kingdom the oppressions which existed in this country—these repeated attacks, these scurrilous calumnies, have compelled me to present myself before your Lordships, to state in my place in this House, what I have already stated in the Parliament of the latter kingdom, and to repeat them in stronger terms, if possible, than I there asserted. I stated in the House of Lords of England, that in many instances families had been torn from their homes by their cruel and unmerciful oppressors, without having any knowledge of the charge which was brought against them, without being confronted with their accusers—without having the proofs exhibited to their view—and without any of those forms which the laws of the country had prescribed. This statement was made from proofs the most ample and satisfactory. Some facts had fallen within my own knowledge, of others I had received information from unquestionable authority; indeed little is left for me to say in support of that statement; a late decision in the King's Bench has shown that such statement was not vain, idle, or ill-forgotten—I stated that houses had been burnt on loose presumptions of delinquency—I stated too, that in some instances torture had been applied; and that picketing in many instances had been resorted to, and that the unhappy victims of a misguided feud, were sometimes half-hanged, or otherwise ill-treated; such a statement as this it was impossible that I could have been induced to have made without clear and satisfactory testimony; it was a representation too strong—it was, if untrue, an accusation too serious to pass unnoticed.—At the bar of the English House of Lords, I offered to substantiate this charge; I had the evidence prepared before I brought forward the accusation—before I made the statement I informed myself on the situation of my country; since my return I have further investigated the subject; and I now re-assert more pointedly, if possible, more strongly, that these cruel and sanguinary measures have frequently been resorted to.

There is another topic, my Lords, which is a necessary preliminary to the immediate purport of my address to you; it is another gross, artful, and cruel misrepresentation, a misrepresentation calculated to wound every feeling of my soul, and exhibit me in a point of view which my character has not I hope merited. What I allude to is my having been accused of charging the army of Ireland with all the cruelties, all the atrocities, all the barbarities which have taken place in this country. No, my Lords, never did I presume to charge the army with any acts of oppression; the pride of my life is being a soldier; and I love the character of one too well to stain it by imputations of inhumanity; from my earliest youth my pride was to be a soldier; with every rank, and with every department of the army have I been conversant. An attack therefore of such a nature could less become me than any of my countrymen. And to the army, my Lords, it would be the more galling, in as much as, to receive a wound from a friend is more excruciating, more miserable, than to receive it from any other person.

What, my Lords, could have been more absurd, what so truly an object of astonishment, as, at the time when I was arraigning the conduct of the British Cabinet, when I was endeavouring to expose its wicked and arbitrary system towards Ireland, that I should change the ground of attack, and that I should act so childish a part as to exonerate the Cabinet, and throw the charge on my brother soldiers? No, my Lords, it was against the Cabinet of England that my attack was solely directed. I accused it of having made the army the instrument of a cruel and arbitrary system of vengeance and oppression towards this country.

Under Heaven I cannot conceive a more cruel and afflicting situation for an officer than a command in one of those proclaimed and persecuted districts, vested with a discretionary power; his feelings are tremblingly alive to his military reputation, he shudders, lest his loyalty should be questioned, and high notions of discipline strongly seize on his mind, and regulate his conduct; from being told of the disaffection which pervades the kingdom, he is, of course, inclined to look with distrust and suspicion on the lower orders of the community; impressed with the idea of every man's plotting against the Government, timidity itself is converted into diffidence, and in the dejected and broken looks of a wretched peasantry he flatters himself with discovering the features of revolt and insurrection; under this impression it is easy to account for numberless mistakes and errors—his countenance assumes the appearance of anger, and his actions are marked with animosity; it is then that the separation between him and the people, which is commenced by the wicked arts of some pensioned informers, is completed, by mutual animosity; to this the estrangement of affection of the Irish officer from the Irish people alone is ascribable; thus it is that the wound, which mildness and moderation might have cured and corrected, is fretted and gangrened by those foul and unworthy manoeuvres. The time, my Lords, is not yet lost for recovering the affections of your countrymen; can you hope that you can restore Ireland to peace, by these acts of cruelty and oppression? Conciliation may be deferred—but every day that it is deferred increases the difficulty of suppressing the views of the discontented, and allaying the evils of insurrection and revolt; to disarm the Republican, you must concede to the Loyalist: I conjure you to attempt to compromise with the discontented, and to abandon the constant recourse to military assistance; the interference of the army on these public occasions creates and inflames animosity; it suspends the wholesome and salutary influence of your laws—and exhibits you to the world as dependants for an existence on military authority.

To England this system must prove ruinous and destructive; involved in a contest the most obstinate and severe, she requires every energy that this country could carry into the common cause. Instead of being the seat of war herself, she has a cordial co-operation of the united feelings of this country, she may mock every effort which is made by her most resolute and implacable enemy—hold in her declarations, the French Republic aspires to shake her existence on that of our empire itself, and disclaims every attempt which may be made for a pacific accommodation.—If, my Lords, these perpetual blots, these constant insurrections, can only be quelled by the bayonet, I am strongly apprehensive that, instead of the whole force of Great Britain and Ireland being directed against France, the whole must be directed to the subjugation of this country. France, already formidable, great in military exertion, and having nearly accomplished all which in the commencement of the war she could have designed, requires no civil diffidence to make her present a formidable and terrific appearance? Why does she not listen to peace? Why diminish your negotiator? Because she fees the distracted state of your country, and relies upon the diffidence which have been created here. What then, supposing your system to continue, must be the situation of the British empire? How is she to be represented to posterity, boldly struggling

with a desperate antagonist? No, she must exhibit herself at a time, when the whole energy of the nation was required, when all is wanting—torn by faction, broken down by diffidence, a diminished power, and diminished empire—at the utmost reduced to an humble and injured self-defence; exclusive of this national degradation, exclusive of the wound which the dignified feelings of this House must experience for the country's being reduced to so unworthy a state; what, should this dreadful system continue, must be the feelings, the individual feelings of every man whom I now address? He returns to his estate, to contemplate in the circle of his tenants and his neighbours the heart-breaking diffidence which such a system must necessarily occasion. How can you bear, my Lords, to return to your homes, to look on your tenantry with diffidence and distrust, to cast suspicion on all you meet, and to have those feelings rushing on your mind, that by him you are considered as his worst and most implacable enemy? Every cast of the eyes of your peasantry in this situation you must regard with distrust, and you have imposed on you the hard necessity of contemplating in the silent workings of his heart, the impotent effort which he entertains of the injuries he experiences from those who should be the guardians of his comforts and the protectors of his country.

This distressing situation calls to my recollection a beautiful apostrophe which may well be supposed in the mouth of a dejected countryman:—If an open enemy had been the author of this, I could have borne with it; if a stranger, I might possibly have repelled it; but since these injuries have fallen from my old companion and friend, I know not how to treat him." What person, my Lords, acquainted with the insecurity of such a state, but must this night be inclined to co-operate in my humble attempt for its alteration?

"Nonne agitur milites perire est melius quam sua in civitate esse armatorum presidio non pollicere? Ad istud, crede mihi non est presidium. Caritate enim et benevolentia civium septum esse oportet non armis."

The diffidence which these acts of outrage occasion, are not only deeply felt at home, but they may render the security of your country precarious and uncertain—it makes you vulnerable to your enemies, despair operates most powerfully on the human heart; if you show no disposition to alleviate the sufferings of the people, danger may become awful indeed.—Let us be united in sentiment, and to France and to the world we may bid defiance; be not united, and it signifies nothing if we had not a ship upon the sea; we may brave every attack, we would not be certain of frustrating any attempt of the enemy—do but abandon your system of severity, your distrust of the people, and those horrid acts of outrage, and let France pour into either country her most formidable levy, and I will answer for it, my Lords, in one fortnight that many will not appear, say, may not exist in this country, but in the character of prisoners—your security is in your unanimity; the sums which you vote and the levies which you raise are useless unless you concede to the people—security will then be easy to all.

My Lords, let it not be said that concession would be ruin. You undervalue the generous character of your countrymen. They are not insensible to kindness, they are alive to acts of friendship, they can estimate the value and importance of a benefit; they will not, it is not in their nature to requite friendship by ingratitude. In the heat of party, and in the disturbed and agitated state of the country, I fear, that on both sides there have been infinite misapprehensions. You say that plots have existed, that conspiracies have been detected, that provocations have taken place in the country—granted; but, have you not laws to repress this violence?—are they not sufficiently forcible for this purpose?—do you complain of their wanting severity? If you do, why not appeal to the wisdom of Parliament for some better calculated to suppress those plots, to defeat those conspiracies, and to make the people amenable to civil authority. If there are delinquencies, let the delinquents be punished, but let them be punished by law. Deny not the common rights of trial, tear them not from their homes, and make them the indiscriminate victims of ungovernable fury. The time to punish was proved; but, forry am I to think, that punishment the most severe has been inflicted for offences the most vague. If sometimes excesses did take place, vigour might be used to repress them; but vigour is most formidable when exercised with most prudence. All governments are indebted for their security, to firmness, justice, and magnanimity, rather than to cruelty, injustice, and mismanagement. I have abundance of proof to show you, that bare imputations of disaffection have warranted the most arbitrary excesses of power. To be suspected was enough to make the poor peasantry of the country the subjects of Ministerial cruelty. How dreadful that state of society, when the liberty of the subject is made dependent on the whim and suspicion of a low, illiterate, and illiberal informer!

So far, my Lords, I have been general in my assertions, and general in my statement; allow me now to state to you what has fallen more immediately under my own observation.—The district round my house was, as I was assured, and as was generally understood, the year before the last, not merely disaffected, but tainted with rebellion; it was painted to me just as it gone as any part of the kingdom—when I returned there, it was natural that I should have the best opportunity of tracing those diffidences to their origin, and discover the persons who were supposed to be influential in organizing any plots, or forming conspiracies: Finding that no such plots ever existed, I used every effort to discover who were the authors of these calumnies, who it was who dared to proclaim this part of the country in a state little short of insurrection and rebellion. I did discover, my Lords, the presumptuous wretch who passed this foul calumny on this part of your country—I traced it to an informer, so base, so profligate, and so abandoned, that there was not a Justice of the Peace in the country who would have believed him on his oath, if his interest to the value of sixpence was concerned; and yet on the abandoned testimony of this detestable calumniator, the loyalty of the country was impeached, and the severe interdict of disaffection and its consequent penalties pronounced upon the unfortunate people. Finding this to be the real truth of the transaction, I applied to have a declaration signed among my neighbours, expressive of our attachment to the laws, our love of the constitution, and our determination to support both, as well as our Sovereign, with our lives and fortunes—I attended the meeting at which these resolutions were signed. Possibly it may be said, that those resolutions were mere words, that the real sentiments of those who signed them were far different—to this I answer, it is not difficult to know when men are truly sincere, there is a simplicity and ingenuousness about it which never accompanies hypocrisy and guilt, and if ever those features of sincerity struck a man as being characteristic of the minds of the individuals, they struck me on that occasion. At that meeting I stated to the people the nature of republicanism, and likewise endeavoured to delineate the blessings of a limited monarchy. When I mentioned the inestimable virtues of my Sovereign, there was not a man who did not exhibit the most genuine and marked approbation. When I spoke of the magnanimity of his son, the Prince of Wales, and the uniform attachment he expressed for this kingdom—when I mentioned the strong claims which the conduct of this country at the time of the regency had laid on the Prince's affection, and his consequent regard for our prosperity, our peace, and our protection, there was not an eye which did not beam gratitude, not a heart which did not demonstrate his loyalty in the fervency of its acclamation. Since I have arrived in this country, I have read the confessions of the informers.

Bird, alias Smith,	Ferri,	McDermot,
Newell,	McCann,	Maguire,
Dutton,	Gollier,	Lynch,
O'Brien,	Cusack,	McGauley,
Clarke,	Burke,	Sec. &c. &c.

Confessions which were sufficient to wound every feeling of humanity, and sicken and disgust every feeling of the soul, these confessions were demonstrative of the false and aggravated statements which Government was in the habit of receiving—I shuddered to think that such wretches could find employment or protection under any Government; are not these things enough to urge Administration to abandon its system, to enable them to contemplate the errors they have fallen into, and by an immediate relinquishment of this intolerable severity, to exhibit contrition at its having ever been introduced in this country?—There are not times for crimination and recrimination, concessions ought not to be retarded; the generous confidence and manly warmth, the old nature of Ireland, ought to be revived. My Lords, the Government of Ireland is unacquainted with the true character of Irishmen. I do declare most solemnly, that I never knew the peasantry of any country so sensible of kindness, so easily bound by friendship, with hearts so grateful, as the injured and insulted peasantry of this hard-fated country.—I know not that I can strengthen my claim to your sympathy by any stronger arguments that I can urge on this occasion: all that I have asserted in another Assembly, I here re-assert, if possible, in much stronger language.

My intention is, to move for an Address to the Lord Lieutenant, expressive of our sorrow at the situation of the country, how inadequate the measures pursued have been to give peace and tranquillity to Ireland, and praying that mild and conciliatory measures may immediately be adopted. In this motion I have scrupulously avoided mentioning any instances of immorality, and I have not alluded to any persons who may be supposed to be instrumental in carrying rigorous measures improperly into execution; I have left the motion open, and, as far as possible, unobjectionable. There are two subjects, however, of great magnitude, which, as being leading features of contention, I must in this place mention. The first is as to the further extension of the privileges of a people to the Catholics; on this subject my opinion is clear—no I never entertained a doubt. Under the present circumstances of this country it is ungenerous and unjust that a great majority of the community should be stamped with any mark or badge of servitude, or compelled to bear the galling reflection of being denied any privileges enjoyed by their countrymen, since once this country was declared free and independent.

The second subject, which is a subject of the greatest importance, was the question of a Parliamentary Reform. The sentiments which I have expressed in the British House of Parliament were so much distorted, misrepresented, and misstated, that I feel it the more necessary to express myself intelligibly and satisfactorily on this topic. In that House I did assert, that I was not a friend to the sentiment of a Parliamentary Reform; but, though this was my opinion, yet it was not an opinion which I entertained because I saw Parliamentary Reform necessarily occasioned those evils which some think proper to ascribe to it. My objection to Parliamentary Reform was on the ground of its not being practically expedient; and that I was apprehensive that it might be attended with greater inconveniences than advantages when carried into execution. But this was always stated as my private and humble opinion, unless the benefits which were to be the consequence of this measure were more clearly ascertained. I have, it is true, objected to that measure. Whatever might have been any doubts as to the advantage or disadvantage of Reform in England, my doubts are certainly not so great with respect to this country. I have ever considered the question as completely constitutional, and ever much I reprobate that system which treats with intolerance men who are admirers of this improvement. My doubts as to the propriety of Reform in Ireland are greatly removed, when I see and know, that the public mind in this country is bent on that measure, when I know that a sentiment in its favour has seized the whole community, I venture not to question its expediency. The people of Ireland feel they are unprotected. The Parliament of Ireland has declared Reform a salutary expedient, it would be indecent to doubt or question its utility—when this is the case, I think Reform ought to be conceded. I am free to declare, that the mischief which may be occasioned by not conceding it, may be much greater than any mischief which might follow the concession. I beg, therefore, to be understood as the friend of Reform in Ireland—because Reform is considered by the people as a great measure for restoring the peace, and securing the happiness of the country. On this motion there were many points for argument, two great measures of this nature would soothe the mind, and suspend the apprehensions of the people. Parliament is now called upon to make some declaration. This was not a common occasion. The common duties of humanity should urge the House to an adoption of this much wanted measure. A declaration of the opinion of the House to the Lord Lieutenant would warm the sentiments of all classes, would revive affection. The state of the country ought minutely to be weighed. If it was unpleasant to grant, it should be remembered, that it might be dangerous to withhold. Concession might be offered too late. The time is not yet passed, and the history of mankind and of the world shows the danger of abandoning any favourable opportunity which may offer for the accomplishment of any great object of national utility. His Lordship concluded his speech with the following motion:—

“That in humble Address be presented to His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, representing, That as Parliament hath confided to his Excellency extraordinary powers for supporting the laws, and for defeating any traitorous combinations which may exist in this kingdom, this House feels it, at the same time, a duty to commend the adoption of such conciliatory measures as may allay the apprehensions, and extinguish the discontents unhappily prevalent in this country.”

Lord GLANWORTHY.—My Lords, this subject is not a novel one, it has been treated of elsewhere, and feeling as an Irishman, I am bold to say that its first introduction into the Parliament of another country, was not to give it an harsher name, “an attack on the Independence of the Irish Parliament.” In the reference to the Parliament of another country, was it not indirectly said to the turbulent and dissatisfied people in Ireland—your Parliament is too corrupt, or too insufficient, to redress the grievances which you suffer, or to entertain the diffidence of them. What has been accomplished in the last fifteen years by the Parliament of Ireland? has it not given to the country constitution and consequence in that short period? why then should such unwarrantable suppositions be held forth?

Having pointedly dwelt on this circumstance, he observed, that with respect to the disturbed state of the country, the Noble Earl in his statement seemed to mistake the effect for the cause. The real distractions arose from the machinations of those serpents cherished within the bosom of the country, who saw and sickened at our prosperity and happiness—who like the devil sought to blast the tranquillity they could not enjoy, and who had at last in vain words, Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform, merely as the parables of Treason and Rebellion—their true object was subversive to the laws, to property, and all the established orders of society—to change places with their superiors: for this purpose they had formed a regular system, and entered into a league with the Directory of France, with whom they maintained a regular correspondence by envoys and ambassadors from the year 1795 to the present moment: the plundering his Majesty's loyal subjects of their arms, the murder of Magistrates who dared to support the laws, of witnesses who dared to give evidence against conspirators, and of threats of terrorism held out to Jurors to deter them from finding verdicts of conviction against the most flagitious offenders, made a part of their system. The late attempt of the French to invade this country was invited by this Society: a rising was concerted which was to take place in May 1797, in which a general massacre of all who were inimical to their purposes was to take place, which was happily prevented by the vigilance of government in seizing arms.

With respect to the burnings mentioned by the Noble Earl, he did not justify them, at the same time that he thought example necessary. He positively assured the Noble Lord, that Government never gave orders for military outrage, or lenity or partiality to any class of men who disturbed the public peace, but to do justice with an even hand, and repress disorder wherever it appeared. To talk of conciliation then with rebels, determined on the subversion of Government and the Constitution, would degrade the dignity and authority of Parliament, at a moment too when these very men had envoys at Paris, surrounded by traitors of every description, from the Demagogue Napper Tandy to Thomas Paine. There were resident agents at Lifford during the late negotiation with Lord Malinborough, disseminating the French Directory from peace, and advising them to demand a preliminary the total independence or rather separation from Great Britain of Ireland, a measure which they knew would not be granted, and promising them the aid of Ireland to separate and subdue the British empire. Through those agents and their correspondents, were they even regularly informed of the military force of this country, and every local circumstance favourable to the project of invasion. In aid of this project, an infamous newspaper was published, called The Press, fraught with the most palpable falsehood and sedition, and which, encouraged by impunity, had recently thrown off the mask, and fully avowed the purpose of invasion as their security, from the Great Nation, and advising the people to be prepared. Here the Noble Lord read some passages from The Press, and from another infamous publication called the Union Star, in illustration of his argument, alleging that though he was aware as any man to acts of despotism, he thought that print should have been put down by the strong hand of the law.

He next adverted to the argument of the Noble Earl, respecting the curfew. But would any man compare to that instrument of feudal despotism, the law which obliged the labouring man, in a proclaimed district, to go to his rest at nine o'clock, instead of running about the country concerning and perpetrating robberies and murders? He then read a list of horrid murders committed on men to prevent them giving evidence; one

in particular, where a soldier of the Limerick militia who had sworn against one of these traitors, but a contrivance was made through the means of a woman who was sent to pretend love to him, and offer him a purse of money; by her means, unwary he was seduced about a mile from his quarters, and while he lay embraced in the arms of the woman, she drew a dagger from her bosom, and plunged it into his breast, and he died in a few minutes. The hatchet of one of the accomplices clove his skull in twain. His Lordship stated another catastrophe, which had occurred a short time about two miles from Youghall, where a man, his wife, his child and fervent maid were barbarously murdered, and horrible to relate, the brother of the fervent maid was the murderer, not daring even to spare his own sister under the duties of his engagement. That he had still a tale of woe, blacker if possible than all the rest, it was a copy of the deposition of the unfortunate Mrs. Uniacke, on the circumstances of the massacre of her husband and Colonel St. George, accompanied by circumstances too horrible for detail, and which overrode the sanguinary cruelty of the wildest savages. He concluded this catalogue of horrors by stating a fact he had learnt since he came into the House; it was the murder of two private of the Ninth Dragoons, who had been seduced from their duty by those miscreants, but afterwards relenting returned to their allegiance, and were murdered; the one mangled with horrid circumstances of barbarity; the other left hanging on a tree! These were acts of desperation and horror that vied with the dictates of the Man of the Mountain, and were perpetrated at the mandate of men who sat behind the curtain and directed those bloody operations. Was the Noble Earl apprized of these circumstances before he brought forward his motion? or did he conceive that conciliation and concession were the measures to be followed with such men? In his mind it was in vain to think of conciliating by such platters a wound so deeply gangrened. He concluded by expressing a hope that the Noble Earl would be persuaded he had been imposed on, and would acknowledge his error, and by recommending vigour in putting down those who, if not prevented, would put down all order.

Lord CLARE.—The Noble Earl, the Noble Earl had stated enormities to have existed; why did not the Noble Earl apply to the next gentleman, an officer to have them redressed, when he heard of them, instead of carrying the recital of them without explanation into England, and detailing them in the British House of Peers?

The Lord CHANCELLOR, (Earl of Clare), began by desiring that the report of the Secret Committee of that House in the year 1793 should be read.—[The report was read.] Lord CLARE then continued. If the Noble Earl had read the report of last session, he should not trouble the House to have it now read. He had called for that of 1793, to serve with the latter as a ground for what he should offer.—For the military and personal character of the Noble Earl he felt most unfeigned respect; but upon what principle that Noble Earl had passed by that Irish House of Parliament, of which he was a member, and forced his subject on the British Legislature, to a call upon that Legislature to interpose with the Crown on a subject only cognizable by the Parliament of Ireland—to require through the British House of Peers the exertion of his Majesty's paternal influence to procure the repeal of some laws of fundamental import to the Irish constitution, while as though a member of this House, he passed a sweeping condemnation on all the acts of the Irish Government and Legislature; on what principle he had done this—on what principle he had represented the feudal tyranny of the *survive* as established in this kingdom, on what principle he had accused Government of reviving the practices of the Inquisition, of urging persons to become witnesses against their friends and neighbours by torture—on what principle this was stated he could not well understand; yet all these charges had passed sanctioned by his name uncontroverted through every session in Great Britain and Ireland. The Noble Earl had disavowed the heavy charge against the army; but he had attributed the treason which had disgraced the country, to the misconduct of the British Cabinet; to cure that misconduct, he had stated that conciliation was the only remedy; but he would ask, what security was there for the accomplishment of the Noble Earl's promise? Did he reason from the past? the past was against him. Did conciliation allay clamour and discontent? if it was said that it did, in no place of the globe had the experiment been so fairly tried as in Ireland, in none had it so completely failed. His Lordship then went into a view of the last nineteen years: One continued succession of conciliatory measures. In 1799, the restraints upon our commerce were taken off. In 1801, an independent Legislature was established; the opposition Cabinet of the country was called upon for their list of grievances; they gave them in an address to the throne; they declared themselves satisfied; they pledged their lives and fortunes that all grounds of discontent were removed; one of them received the enormous sum of 50,000*l.* as a reward for his discovery of grievances, and he and his brother patriots were for about three weeks the idols of the country. It was then discovered that the repeal of the 6th of George I. was insufficient for our freedom, and a clamour was raised for a renunciation; the Duke of Portland in his economy raised four provincial regiments to defend the country in the place of the army which was sent abroad; an outcry was raised against him as if he had affronted the country beyond repair. His successor, Lord Temple, anxious to prove the sincerity of the British Cabinet, procured a renunciation act in England. Still there was a grievance; the people discovered that the same House of Commons which had procured all these great benefits, free trade, independence, and renunciation; that this House of Commons was itself a grievance; the armed majesty of the people was appealed to; a military convention, affirming the forms of Parliament, was assembled close to the House of Commons; a bill was read, committed, and ordered to be engrossed; read a third time, and passed; it was then sent on the point of the bayonet into the House of Commons, and by its immediate rejection the kingdom was for a time saved, and the authors of the attempt covered with shame and disgrace. The country was then quiet, and became prosperous.

In 1805, an offer was made by England to participate her colonial trade with us, provided we submitted to her colonial regulations; this was declined against an attack upon our independence; and by the wisdom of the Parliament of Ireland was rejected. Some respite was now had for some time, until the lamentable occurrence of 1809, when, in their rage for power, a party in this country shook the Constitution to its foundation, and by studiously neglecting the example of England, laid the ground for all that has happened since. The Marquis of Buckingham, overlooking the personal insults he had received, laboured to conciliate those gentlemen whom this business had separated from him; he was unsuccessful; they were necessarily diminished, and having formed themselves into a club for redress of grievances, the first of which was charging the British Government with a design to destroy the liberties and hopes of Ireland—and these were the very men who had in 1784 pledged themselves, with their lives and fortunes, to imperial conciliation. They formed themselves into a club, in which they professed to support, as their fundamental opinions, the Constitution in Church and State as settled in 1788. Their pension bill, their place bill, have been passed—the were anxious for a responsibility bill, by which the Government of the country would be vested in an Executive Directory of five officers not amenable to the Crown, but this was rejected by Parliament.

Agreeable to the practice of the Whig Club, that pestilential society, calling itself an Union of Irishmen, began its proceedings with a manifesto, in which their utter abhorrence of British name and British connexion is every where conspicuous; and this abhorrence still further explained by a letter from their founder (who is now a fugitive for high treason, and was lately an Adjutant-General in Hoche's army) to his friends in Belfast. He had often lamented that Government had not earlier exerted their power to put down this pestilential association; but so it was, that the magistrates were not allowed to disperse them until they had fat for four years, and laid a foundation for all the mischief to which they found themselves disposed. So early as 1792 they had determined to raise and arm troops; a gentleman, now a Colonel in the army, was applied to in order to discipline them; and they avowed that their object was a separation of the countries by the aid of France; that they had arms, money, and men, but wanted officers to carry forward the work. To provide themselves with more arms, they took advantage of a very old religious feud in the county of Armagh, and set on the Roman Catholics, under the name of Defenders of the North, to rob and plunder their Protestant fellow subjects of arms. A Roman Catholic Committee sitting in Dublin had avowedly interfered in behalf of these rioters; this appeared from the report which he had just caused to be read, and the consequence of that report had been the gun-powder bill,

the first of the strong measures which Parliament had found necessary for the public safety. A determination on the part of the Irish Union to summon a Convention at Athlone had given rise to the declaratory law by which the contraband trade of Parliaments was forbidden. His Lordship then went into a detail of several measures adopted of necessity by Parliament, particularly the insurrection act, in consequence of the murders and outrages of 1795 and 1796. He entered fully into the specific charges made by Lord Moira in England; proved that the trade of Belfast had not decreased by the war; that the linen manufacture had thriven by it; that the details of cruelty were outrageously exaggerated. He spoke with severity of the conduct of some persons in the county of Down, who after requiring Government to proclaim that country, had joined in an agitating requisition for an indiscriminate meeting of the inhabitants, in order to carry a political object for an English party. He spoke with much disapprobation of the conduct of the Bishop of Down and Connor as one of the requirers. His Lordship concluded a very long and eloquent speech of three hours, by noticing the objects of reform and emancipation mentioned by the Noble Earl. Reform, it was proved by their own writings, would not satisfy the Union, and as to emancipation, as it was called, the Telt and Supremacy acts were the only impediments. He would ask the Noble Earl to go to England and move for their repeal there; he would not venture it; the English looked upon them as the foundation of their monarchy, and knew that an attempt to shake them would shake the constitution.

Bishop of Down.—My Lords, the tone in which the learned Lord has spoken of me, renders it impossible that I should not say something to defend myself from an aggression so unprovoked. He has spoken of me as if he took it for granted that neither I nor any of my brethren were justified in having an opinion of our own on any subject—as if it were a thing of course that we should always adopt the sentiments of Administration, and that to differ from them in any point were a flagrant violation of our sacred duty. What, my Lords, have I been charged with? and what is the crime which has provoked such asperity? I am charged with having been one of many highly respectable names who dared to petition our common Sovereign, and lay before the father of his people the sufferings under which we labour. Of that measure, my Lords, I am proud—I contend for it, that considered in a constitutional point of view it was perfectly legal. The Noble and Learned Lord, in a tone of confidence which is so peculiar to him, asserts that I went about soliciting signatures to this petition. I assert in opposition to the learned Lord, that the information which he has received on that subject, is false. I deny the fact—but were it true, I see nothing in it which either as an honest man or a Protestant Bishop, I should be ashamed of. For this measure the learned Lord has endeavoured to hold me forth to this House and the public as a culprit, and when he describes me in that point of view he holds me up emphatically as a Banisher. Is this the conduct of one professing, as the learned Lord does, such zeal for the support of the established church? If such be his treatment of his friends, the Catholics have little reason to regret the want of his friendship.—But what is the impropriety in a Protestant Bishop uniting with his fellow subjects in a petition to the Crown? Is the right to petition abrogated, or is it become treason to complain? If it be, and that I have transgressed in this act of mine any law of the land, why have I not been prosecuted? For surely the law officers of the Crown did not want inclination for the task—or if I have been guilty of any indecorum to the House by exerting what I considered a constitutional right, why has not the learned Lord come boldly forward to move for its censure on me. I assure the learned Lord that any chastisement of the House I shall submit with becoming humility, at the same time that I shall entertain for his disapprobation or praise the most perfect indifference.

My Lords, I feel that I am warm on this subject—I pray your Lordships pardon, and beg you will excuse me, interested as I must be in the strong expressions which have been used towards me, I have not been quite temperate. The Chancellor in that file of interrogatory which seems so imply so much, and which really means so little, asks whether your Lordships will meet treason and murder and conspiracy, with measures of conciliation—with Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation? I answer, my Lords, that these are the only remedies which in our present circumstances are likely to be effectual. Of Catholic Emancipation—a full and complete Emancipation—an admission to all the rights and privileges which a subject can claim, I have been always a decided friend—I have always thought it was a measure not merely of sound policy, but of strict right: now having some what taken from the Noble Lord tonight, or at any former time, tended in any degree to shake my confidence in that opinion—equally convinced am I, that a full and fair Reform of the Representation of the people is a measure of wisdom and necessity—I see nothing but this measure which can now restore to Ireland the blessings of tranquillity and content—unless these measures be adopted, my property and that of every other gentleman in the country—say, the country itself is gone; Whatever the fate of the country may be—and I dread that fate—it will be due to the present Ministers.

Lord DONNANEY supported the motion with much ability.

Lord MOIRA in reply.—The Learned Lord asks me whether I do not believe that there exists in this country a dangerous conspiracy against the Government? My Lords, I do believe there exists such a conspiracy, and I attribute the existence of that conspiracy to the fever—the unconstitutional measures which Government have adopted. I attribute much of the danger and disturbances which exist, to that most impolitic measure—the recall of my Lord Fitzwilliam. The system which was continued subsequent to that event—a system of coercion, of cruelty, and of blood, has aggravated the evil, and driven the people to the most dangerous and unconditional steps—as means of supposed self-defence against the extreme severity of their Government. His Lordship is pleased to say that he would not, were he a general officer, commanding the army in Ulster, be much obliged to me for saying that I was sure they did not act with their inclination in discharging the late orders of Government. I am sure that these officers would find it an unpleasant duty were they bound to execute on the people a punishment legally inflicted. I am sure it must be still more so where they are obliged to exert measures of extraordinary severity. I know too the delicate situation in which an officer is placed, when he is appointed to execute such orders as those under which Gen. Lake and others acted.

But of the facts which I alluded to in the British House of Peers, as proofs of the extreme cruelty of the system which was carried on in Ireland, his Lordship denies the truth. One of those facts was the strangling of one Shaw, in order to induce a confession, and his Lordship asserts, that the rope was only put round his neck, but that he was not actually hanged. I repeat my former assertion, that he did actually undergo a process of strangulation, and that more than once! His Lordship has alluded to another part of my speech, and triumphantly denies, that the curfew regulation was so rigorously enforced in a particular instance, as I was supposed to have mentioned. In describing the severity of so arbitrary a measure, I took the liberty to suppose a case in which the enforcement of it would be attended with great hardship—the case was that of a parent watching at night over his dying child, and obliged, in such circumstances, to put out his lights, by the order of a military patrol. It so happened that such a case as this did occur, tho' with some circumstances less aggravating than I had stated. The papers related this supposition of mine as if it had been a real fact I had been describing; and his Lordship, supposing me convicted of error in this instance, labours to prove, that therefore the other facts which I had related deserved no credit.—But, to pass over these less important points, and come to the business before us—the learned Lord asks, Whether I would oppose the slow process of laws to men banded in open rebellion? I will answer the question, by bidding him shew me the rebellion—and, while I ask him to do so, I cannot help expressing my regret, that his Lordship deals such strong charges so liberally, and flings the epithet REBEL on the whole kingdom of Ireland.

My Lords, before a nation be convicted of this heavy crime, and the punishment of it inflicted, there ought to be some proof—there ought to be the strongest proofs.—Where are they?—The learned Lord has brought the case of Col. Haynes to justify the system which has been carried on in Ireland.—Let me state to your Lordship what that case was;—Isaac Haynes had been taken at the capture of Charlestown—He was suffered to go on parole to his own house—He was not contented with remaining a prisoner on parole—he voluntarily came forward and took the oath of allegiance—he soon began to intrigue, and obtained the command of Colonel of militia in the enemy's

army—he corrupted a battalion of our militia which had been entered and attested—he was detected carrying them off at the very moment when the enemy were coming down upon us. He was tried by a court of enquiry and executed.—But it is necessary to inform your Lordships that this court of enquiry was the only criminal court known in the country—it was adopted from the example of the enemy, and it was so far from being responsible for every official act. But what analogy would be learned Lord draw between this case and any which can occur in Ireland? America was in a state of open rebellion—there was of course a complete dissolution of civil government—the Noble Lord meant to say that such is the state of Ireland? He ought to know that in Ireland in its present circumstances martial law cannot exist in any part of it. Would he make the existence of a society of United Irishmen, however culpable or mislaid they may be, a pretext for the suspension of civil government, and for laying the country prostrate under a military force? Tyranny could only reason thus—Tyranny which wants a colour to give a shade to its true designs. America was then in a state of rebellion. Ireland is still at peace, and yet I will venture to say, that there were fewer capital and summary executions in America for twelve months of that period than there have been in Ireland for the last year!

But the Noble Baron near me has read to the House a shocking catalogue of the murders which have been perpetrated by the insurgents. He has mentioned among them the recent one of a generous and valiant officer. It is horrid indeed, in all its circumstances, and I feel its full horror. But, do these dreadful crimes furnish any argument on this question? If they do, I will find for the Noble Baron another crime to match it, equally horrid. If he go on with his reckoning, I will accompany him, and find him death for death! But surely we are not here to settle an account of blood. I wished to avoid the shocking detail, and did hope that at last a measure of conciliation and peace would have been received. I have been asked, whether I did not here bring forward that list of cruelties and murders which I had mentioned in the other House of Peers. I was for this reason—because I thought it would have been for the benefit, for the honour of the country, if all that which had been forgotten. But let it not be supposed, that the communities which have been committed in this country are for buried in oblivion. If your Lordships shall not agree to the motion I shall immediately move for a Committee to enquire into these crimes, and by what means they have been perpetrated, and remain unpunished. If they are not denied, I will take them as admitted and lamented, for I sincerely hope they are so. But if they are denied, I will bring such proof to the bar as will extort belief; and the proceedings of the Committee on that subject shall convey the grievances and sufferings of the Irish people to the Throne.

The Noble Lord asks, Whether I believe Reform and emancipation will conciliate? I think they will. They will give to the people of this country every thing they can want—more I believe that after what has been done by France in every nation in which she has had interference, there are any people in Ireland so mad as to wish to see a French army in this country.

The learned Lord asked whether I have considered how Catholic emancipation was practicable consistently with the Constitution?—I answer that I have—Catholic emancipation is a phrase used at present to signify the admission of a Catholic to a participation of the powers of the State. At present there is nothing which prevents a Catholic Peer from sitting in this House, but the oath of supremacy—there is no principle of the Constitution which forbids it, and it is deemed well to be considered whether the speculative religious opinions of a man should prevent his enjoyment of his civil rights—nothing more should be required on that head than such a security from a man as would prevent him from using the power which he is entrusted to effect a subversion of the Constitution or religion of the State.—As to those statements of a trade of Belfast which I had mentioned in my speech on a subject in Great Britain, and which the learned Lord has contradicted—I certainly did not take that statement from the House of Commons. My information on that subject I derived partly from the communication of merchants whom I occasionally saw from that port—I formed it from the great dimensions which had taken place in the West India trade of that port. In the year between January 1795 and 1796 there sailed twenty-five ships from the port of Belfast—in the year ending January 1797, there were but twelve—and in the year ending January 1798, there was but one!

The learned Lord has thought fit when speaking of the Irishmen, their Executive Directory, and their Ambassadors to say, that his Lordship thought I was not acquainted with them.—I know not exactly what his Lordship means by this.—The Chancellor interrupted to explain—he only meant, that the Ambassadors at Lifford were certainly Belfast men, he possibly might have known them, though certainly not in the capacity.—I do think it is sometimes not very difficult to see the persons who transact the business of that society—for I am rightly informed, Administration themselves have been consulting with one of those gentlemen, Mr. Neilson, about some terms would satisfy the people.—His Lordship concluded by recapitulating those of his arguments which urged the necessity of Catholic emancipation and reform.

Lord ROSMORE spoke against the resolution, but in a so low we could not hear him.

Lord BELLMONT was a friend to conciliatory measures. At two o'clock this morning the question was put—

Contents, 9—Nine o'clock, 44—

FEBRUARY 23.

Mr VANDELEUR, after an introductory speech in a Committee of the whole House, moved, “That it is the opinion of this House that a tax of two shillings in the pound be paid out of the net rent of every person who shall not refuse to ring six months of the year at the least in this country, for sons holding naval or military offices excepted.” Several Members spoke, after which the question being put, there appeared,—For the motion, 40—against it, 64.

BELTON, EAST LOTHIAN.

To be Let for such a number of years as can be agreed on, the gardens, orchards, pigeon-house, and ten acres of land. The Mansion House of BELTON, with the office of the late Mr. Hay, who was in the possession of the late Mr. Hay, who consists of about 100 Scots acres of land, of the best quality, the premises are about two miles south-west of Dunbar, completely inclosed, and the land in the greatest heart. The houses and the farm will be let either separately or together. Likewise to be Let, the Sheep Farm of BELTONDOR, Lammermuir. The mansion house is furnished, large, and fit to accommodate a genteel family. The garden remarkably early, and we stocked with fruit trees, and the pigeon-house is double, and very productive. Proposals will be received by James Hay, writer to the signet, who will give any information wanted. And John Angus, overler at Belton, will shew the premises.

FARM, LIME-QUARRY, & COAL TO LET, IN FIFE-SHIRE.

To be LET for such a number of years as can be agreed upon, and entered to at the term of Martinmas next. THE FARM of FREESFAULD, part of the Estate of the late Mr. Hay, consisting of upwards of fifty acres, mostly arable, with a good sheep park of eight or nine acres, substantially inclosed, and about twenty acres more nearly adjoining the farm, mostly of good quality, and presently under fallow;—great part of it is limed, and it can be easily otherwise improved.

THE LIME-QUARRIES of Teafles, with the Coal-pits and pertinents. This lime is well known to be of a very superior quality, is level free, and may be wrought either by mining or by quarrying. The northern quarry shews a face of about eleven feet thick, and the southern quarry is of the thickness of Teafles, and is wrought level free, at little expense, is of an excellent quality for burning lime, and besides supplying the above lime will afford a great quantity of coal for sale.

For particulars, apply to Mr. Edward Bruce, clerk to the signet, or Mr. Thomas Horsburgh, writer in Cupar. Thomas Brand at Teafles mill, will shew the premises.